/415 cont./

*511 263 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 272 [177] The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably [264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the [855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

[435] Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk: 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

/416 cont./

*511 272 [452] Above all it is infinitely less practical, keeping less long. Besides, condensed milk has the advantage in that it can be purchased in quantity at the beginning of the month and on credit.

Nevertheless it is in the group of small incomes that one finds the most regularity in its consumption; in the group of 5,000 to 8,000 francs in income, only two families have a consumption per man lower than one liter per month. From No. 12 to No. 24, up to incomes higher than 15,000 francs, it is always below one liter. In the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs, out of seven represented, in six it is higher than one liter.

There are thus few points of comparison between these two categories /417/ of milk. Their use is different, and they do not seem to be complementary.

We cannot speak of milk without saying a word about its breakfast complement, coffee. Its consumption is extremely variable. A product of the country, the quinquéliba, practically free, often substitutes for it, no matter what the income or occupational group. Coffee is perhaps a little more common in the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs. The percentage, in proportion to the income, of the sums which are devoted to it is in general higher. Consumption thus increases in great proportions. Unfortunately it is impossible here to [435] speak of quantities; coffee is sold ground, by pinches, and at variable prices. We therefore only have elements for judging the outlays made for this product. Be that as it may, milk and coffee are important fixtures in the budget of African families; often 8 to 14% of the income is devoted to them (1).

1. Nos. 11 and 17 are Moors and thus traditionally drink tea. No. 11 devotes 1.3% of his income to it; No. 17, 4.4%. No. 39 takes cacao at breakfast; 0.7% of the income.

/417 cont./

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We likewise noted the purchase of cacao in the cases of No. 6 (1.2%) and No. 20 (0.7%).

We have thus surveyed the principal food expenses of our families. Is there truly nothing else?

There is, of course, a quantity of products that are incidentally represented in running over the questionnaires. They are sometimes of some importance in the units of consumption with high incomes.

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The groundnut is most often represented. This is not surprising; we are in Senegal. But the groundnut is a product that is sold more than it is consumed. Some are bought in amounts worth a five-franc bill in order to satisfy hunger [264] while awaiting mealtime. In the form of a paste, it is put into certain dishes. In extreme cases the housewife buys the groundnut if she truly does not have enough money to do suitable marketing for other products. But though one often sees the groundnut in the shell between the hands of the [252] women, it is only when she is shelling it, before roasting [438] it, to sell it then at a very slight profit. /418/ /Table X appears here./ /419/ /Table XI appears here./

/420/Here are the percentages of the income that have been devoted to it:

No. 2: 1.8	No. 17: 0.6	No. 29: 0.4
No. 4: 1.2	No. 18: 1.5	No. 31: 0.3
No. 5: 2.4	No. 19: 2.0	No. 33: 0.4
No. 6: 0.6	No. 20: 3.8	No. 37: 0.2
No. 8: 2.8	No. 21: 0.2	No. 38: 0.4
No. 13:: 1.0	No. 22: 0.8	No. 39: 0.2
No. 16:: 0.6	No. 25: 0.6	No. 40: 1.2

This last percentage expresses the greatest quantity; the cook has simply made a specialty of a dish based on groundnuts.

4: Meradier--51 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Table X

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
1	Laborer	5,800	10	3.4	0	--	5.6	11.0
2	Orderly	6,100	5.5	--	2.3	0.2	7.0	6.2
3	Laborer	6,500	2.8	0.6	3.9	0.3	5.5	2.7
4	Laborer	6,700	5.10	4.1	1.4	3.5	10.0	2.6
5	Orderly	6,745	5.6	4.1	4.5	3.2	3.5	5.9
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	4.8	9.5	9.5	3.0	9.5	7.9
7	Laborer	7,000	3.8	--	3.1	--	6.1	10.1
8	Orderly	7,410	4.4	6.1	3.0	1.3	4.7	7.9
9	Baker	7,500	4.4	--	2.7	--	4.3	11.8
10	Cultivator	8,150	9.6	1.4	6.0	2.2	6.2	6.6
11	Auxiliary	8,950	4.5	--	--	--	1.5	1.1
12	Laborer	9,000	6.3	0.1	2.0	--	3.8	3.3
13	Laborer	9,800	4.4	0.8	1.1	1.0	5.2	4.1
14	Cultivator	10,000	8.9	--	1.9	--	5.5	10.3
15	Laborer	10,000	5.5	--	1.3	--	3.8	6.9
16	Auxiliary	10,675	1.8	1.1	0.7	2.5	2.0	6.0

4: Mercadier--52 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Table X (cont.)

/418 cont./

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
17	Auxiliary -	10,800	6.9	--	0.7	--	5.1	3.1
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	3.6	0.7	0.3	0.2	2.5	3.3
19	Accountant	11,950	7.1	6.1	--	2.5	2.8	5.1
20	Auxiliary	12,000	7.6	3.0	0.4	1.2	5.5	10.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.8	9.4	1.8	1.9	4.8	6.2
22	Auxiliary	14,000	9.2	0.9	1.0	--	3.0	7.7
23	Cultivator	15,000	13.4	--	1.7	--	9.8	9.9
24	Cultivator	15,000	14.4	0.1	0.9	2.0	4.0	6.6
25	Auxiliary	15,630	11.9	0.7	3.2	2.7	2.2	2.0
26	Employee P.T.T.	15,800	2.3	3.1	--	3.4	2.8	2.4
27	Shoemaker	16,200	9.1	0.1	2.2	0.9	2.6	3.4
28	Worker	22,000	14.7	--	--	1.3	9.0	4.8
29	Police sergeant	22,000	8.6	6.0	3.0	2.5	3.8	9.7
30	Weigher	24,000	5.1	2.3	--	1.3	3.4	4.5

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/418 cont./

Table X (cont.)

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
31	Carpenter	25,000	14.4	3.8	--	4.6	2.5	3.2
32	Cultivator	25,000	4.8	--	1.7	--	2.2	3.9
33	Chauffeur	25,000	5.1	0.8	--	3.9	2.2	3.2
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	3.3	1.1	0.7	1.0	11.9	3.3
35	Managerial employee	27,000	4.6	1.6	0.9	1.2	2.2	3.0
36	Private accountant	34,000	12.5	0.9	0.6	1.0	1.3	1.9
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	19.8	3.1	--	6.7	2.5	3.3
38	Jeweler	50,000	10.5	2.3	00	1.1	1.7	3.3
39	Teacher	51,000	8	1.7	--	--	2.5	2.5
40	Chief worker	55,000	17.5	1.6	--	2.9	2.2	2.0
41	Head employee	55,500	10.4	2.5	--	--	2.0	2.5
42	Chief worker	56,000	8.6	1.2	2.4	--	1.2	3.5
43	Doctor	81,000	4	0.5	--	1.2	0.3	1.7

4: Meradier--54 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

* 511/419/ 263 272

Table XI

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (L.)
1	5,800	Sarakolé	6.2	0.6	2,000	200	--	--
2	6,100	Peul	7.2	1.3	--	--	3.4	0.6
3	6,500	Wolof	7.4	2.6	400	142	6.3	2.2
4	6,700	Sérère	11.7	2.3	2,800	549	2.2	0.4
5	6,745	Toucouleur	4.0	0.7	2,800	500	7.4	1.3
6	7,000	Wolof	12.4	2.6	6,650	1,380	16.6	3.4
7	7,000	Wolof	9.7	1.2	--	--	5.5	1.4
8	7,410	Wolof	6.0	1.3	4,550	1,034	5.5	1.2
9	7,500	Wolof	5.0	1.1	--	--	5.1	1.1
10	8,150	Wolof	10.0	1.1	1,200	125	14.2	1.4
11	8,940	Moor	2.5	0.6	--	--	--	--
12	9,000	Peul	6.3	1.0	150	238	4.6	0.7
13	9,800	Wolof	7.5	1.8	600	136	2.5	0.5
14	10,000	Wolof	11.5	1.3	--	--	4.6	0.5
15	10,000	Bambara	8.0	1.5	--	--	3.3	0.6
16	10,675	Bambara	4.0	1.2	1,200	370	1.8	0.5

4: Mersadier--55 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511 263 272

/419 cont./

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (l.)
17	10,800	Moor	7.7	1.1	--	--	1.8	0.2
18	11,000	Peul	2.0	0.5	800	222	--	--
19	11,950	Toucouleur	4.5	0.7	7,400	1,098	--	--
20	12,000	Bambara	10.2	1.4	3,600	470	1.2	0.1
21	13,000	Wolof	10.0	2.6	12,370	3,255	6.1	1.6
22	14,000	Wolof	7.0	0.7	1,350	148	3.2	0.3
23	15,000	Wolof	12.6	0.9	--	--	6.4	0.4
24	15,000	Wolof	12.0	0.8	200	138	3.5	0.2
25	15,630	Wolof	6.0	0.5	1,140	95	12.6	1.0
26	15,800	Wolof	4.0	1.7	5,000	2,173	--	--
27	16,200	Wolof	8.7	1.0	300	329	9.1	1.0
28	22,000	Wolof	8.0	0.5	--	--	--	--
29	22,000	Toucouleur	15.0	1.7	15,000	1,744	16.7	1.9
30	24,000	Wolof	15.0	2.9	5,600	1,100	--	--
31	25,000	Wolof	11.0	0.7	9,660	670	--	--
32	25,000	Wolof	11.6	2.5	--	--	11.1	2.3

4: Mersadier-56 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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/419 cont./

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I.M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I.M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I.M. (l.)
33	25.000	Sérère	8.5	1.7	2,000	400	--	--
34	25,900	Wolof	9.0	2.7	3,000	910	4.9	1.4
35	27,000	Wolof	10.5	2.3	4,400	950	0.5	--
36	34,000	Wolof	8.6	0.7	3,150	252	5.5	0.4
37	36,000	Wolof	6.2	0.3	11,400	575	--	--
38	50,000	Wolof	14.7	1.4	11,500	1,100	--	--
39	51,000	Sarakolé	20.0	2.5	8,400	1,050	--	--
40	55,000	Wolof	20.0	1.1	8,800	500	--	--
41	55,500	Sarakolé	20.0	1.9	14,400	1,380	--	--
42	56,000	Bambara	13.5	1.6	6,900	802	34.7	4.0
43	81,000	Wolof	5.0	1.2	4,200	1,300	--	--

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

called 'Les Ballets Sereres du Sine Saloum,' a group of dancers who had won the Territorial Cup in 1957.

The theatre was packed. I was sitting next to an ample Jollof matron, a small child strapped to her back, its tiny nose buried in the pink muslin of her dress. Another child sat on her knee, beturbanned and clothed just like its mother. From the woman's forehead dangled three shining American dollars. Unfortunately a similar Jollof woman sat immediately in front of me, her black horsehair wig and tall tulle turban almost totally obscuring my view. A strong scent of 'Bint El Sudan' manufactured in East London perfumed the room as the curtains rose to the first dance, 'Love and its Caprices', which was to be the theme of the evening. The variations, the programme told me, were to include '*Allo M'Bissine*'—'My fiancée has beaten me because a boy who loves me told me "Hello M'Bissine" ', and later '*Khodia Kha Lola*'—'Why do you cry Khodia? Only the Gods understand what a tear says'. Ending with an initiation dance of future circumcision candidates. One of the most memorable dances was a solo by a woman with a baby strapped to her back, its head swaying backwards and forwards like a punch ball. The child uttered not a murmur as its mother danced into a frenzy, singing at the top of her voice, and in the background a corps of drums beat an hysterical rhythm. It was an entertaining evening, with a beautiful dance of a slight youth, his black-brown body shining sleekly in the glow of the footlights, contrasting with the powdered copper of his lissom partner, a girl of singular beauty with entrancing opalescent eyes.

After the performance there was a cast party to which Faye, the young secretary of the theatre, invited me. The dancers, various guests, European and African, drank bottles of Coca-Cola and orange squash. Amongst them was Ka Abdou Anta.

He was a handsome young man, but he dragged continuously at a cigarette and his teeth were discoloured with nicotine. His jacket, once well cut, was misshapen by papers stuffed into the pockets. My first meeting with Ka had been two years before but we had not been introduced. He was rehearsing a scene from his play *La Fille des Dieux*, which he was producing for the Théâtre du Palais. It was highly symbolic: a somewhat uneasy compromise between tribal metaphysics and the classical French

/37 cont./ S
This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine 262
is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light,
refreshing, and very nourishing.

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this S 231
practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them
up more.

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in S W 273
water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer
(pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces
a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals S 231
quickly, especially poultry.

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is neces- S 243
sary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to
replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that
is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of
giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a
great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then S [493]
a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more [263]
source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable [272]
because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of
sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions).

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the
edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and
at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number
of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and
high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by S [137]
itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native S 262
rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by
the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing
rice in all kinds of ways.

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all S
binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a 273
beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in 757
dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a [272]
cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, [515]
rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases.

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses.

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it.

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine, and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture.

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts.

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts.

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in comparison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a waterproof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets.

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the